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/301 cont./

adversary, who knows how to describe the situation of the offended group without humbling it or provoking a negative reaction from the enemy, who is capable of making the opponents feel their guilt without injuring them, who leads them by means of considerations of personal convenience to the acceptance of a commitment which benefits the group he is defending, without being too /302/ onerous for the other, who does not provoke resistance and criticism from the opposing group, who does not appear to be a prosecutor but rather a mediator of good will in the problem of the interested parties, who knows how to listen serenely to the insults that the two groups hurl at each other and does not transmit them literally, but rather in a form that will lead to a settlement; who knows how to get the better of his adversary, not only through his inferiority as the guilty party but through his personal weaknesses as a man, and finally, who conducts the discussion cleverly, now humbly, now proudly, in accordance with the changes of opinion of his hearers, recalling the past or presenting to the enemy the dangers of an anxious future if they do not come to some settlement, showing the bitterness of exile and the distress of a life without peace and the mutual advantage of a settlement which benefits both equally, until he overcomes the antagonist and obliges him of his own accord, without annoyance of rancor, to make the peace after a solemn promise to make a settlement or a commitment to pay a just amount to the offended group.

The procedure is as follows: Having been charged with the representation of one group to present the claim for compensation payment to the other, he who brings the "word" goes to the house of the murderer's closest relatives.

He arrives very early, at two o'clock in the morning generally, before the assembled family has dispersed to attend to its daily work.

He draws the attention of the owners of the house to his presence, and they give him the usual salutation, Anáh pía ("Have you arrived?"), which permits him to introduce himself. They all rise and talk to him; then he explains the reason for his visit; he has come to present a claim on the part of such-and-such a

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty-six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.: süshi püichi – father of püichi (sü – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; püichi – bucive). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as bucive (püichi), tiger (kanüin), pig (pürüki), wild cat (mulai), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (kanüsü), brownish one (murüsachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashi – my father; pishii – your father; süshi – his father; süshi – her father; washi – our father; hashi – your (pl.) father; nashi – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three arüur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

7:Bolinder 7-5 (1928, 1955) 1957
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You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anshi pia*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*ee*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

7:Bolinder 7-3 (1926, 1955) 1957
SCIJ Coajiro SCIJ

hands to their faces. From one end all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the waiters nearest to the host began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her *maiyura*, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

?:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SCI3 Cowjiro SCI3

Indians also had to have some of it. Fortunately, we had [579]
plenty of oatmeal, and we got the Indians to eat porridge.

The Indians we met, almost all on foot, were well armed with bow of arrows and often a gun and a well-stuffed cartridge belt besides. Custom required that all we met should be given tobacco, but the Cusina being reputed expert at seizing an outstretched hand and pulling a rider off his horse, we did as the Indian chiefs do and without pulling up threw a cigar to those we met with a gay injunction to catch it. [574]

The shadowy figures that slipped away among the cactus trees when we met them by night were most suspicious. Those were not pleasant encounters. Even by moonlight anyone could see that we were three white people, but whether the shadows were Cusina or others with bad consciences we could not tell. Our large packages must have looked desirable to Cusina eyes, but they largely consisted of Indian things, that is to say, our collections. The brigands would have been disappointed if they had opened them!

The hills we now had to the north of us were quite different in character from the gentle Macuira Hills. Tall, [133] menacing masses of stone rose up here and there flanked by razor-sharp ridges. In the naked, grim ravines among them dwelled the Cusina, spying out across the plain from the verges of secret precipices, like vultures looking for their prey. One evening, we came to another abandoned rancho beside a casimba. We had already unsaddled and stacked the packs, when we discovered that the casimba was empty. The Indians knew there was another water-hole not far away. The animals had to be watered, so despite the risk involved, we had to split up.

We three white people stayed with the baggage, while the Indians went off with the animals and our water-vessels. My wife had fever and had to lie down, which she did with her little pistol beside her. Gladwet and I kept watch, rifle in hand. We had piled the baggage on a slight eminence, so that even in the darkness we had a certain view of our surroundings. Meanwhile our men had vanished in thick divi-divi scrub, in which anyone but an Indian would have got

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

● 576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
579 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse